1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 596 861 [872] the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [592] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

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241 462 857 On the cane plantations the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 565 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 471 [454] The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 [439] Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

207 [464] The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

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[Class D Families]

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

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[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home. [608]

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child. [551] [583]

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

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remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.